

HUGO BLANCO

MUST NOT DIE



**An Address to a
meeting in solidarity with
the imperilled Peruvian
leader and the freedom
struggle in Latin America
by Andre Gunder Frank
with introductory comments
by Kenneth Golby**

WE SUPPORT ALL YOUR EFFORTS TO SAVE HUGO BLANCO. HE MUST NOT DIE!

Read a wire sent to the Toronto assembly signed by; Neil Reimer, Alberta leader of the New Democratic Party, Professor C. Brant, anthropology, University of Alberta, Professor A. Mardiros, philosophy, University of Alberta, Professor C. Bay, political science, University of Alberta, and a score of other members of that faculty.

FREE HUGO BLANCO

ANDRE GUNDER FRANK, author of *Capitalism and Underdevelopment in Latin America*, visiting professor in economics, Sir George Williams University, Montreal.
Featured speaker — page 7.

KENNETH GOLBY, Spanish department, York University, member of Amnesty International.
Chairman — page 3.

Supplementary speakers included; Kenneth Walker, lecturer, University of Toronto; **Ross Dowson**, editor of **WORKERS VANGUARD**, and **Joseph Meslin**, Ontario regional director of the United Cap and Millinery Workers Union (CLC).

The Toronto meeting of January 27, 1967, was sponsored by; C. B. MacPherson, political science, University of Toronto, Donald Willmott, sociology, University of Toronto, Kenneth Walker, sociology, University of Toronto, C. Ian Lumsden, political science, University of Toronto, Edith Guild, Spanish department, York University, Gerry Gallagher, business agent, Local 183 Laborers' Union (CLC), and Robert McCarthy.

JEAN-PAUL SARTRE, the eminent French intellectual, said in the course of his address to a mass meeting held in Paris, November 28, sponsored by the International War Crimes Tribunal:

"The struggle of the Vietnamese people is the main combat being carried on today against American imperialism. It is not the only one. In Peru, the former student and great peasant leader, Hugo Blanco, is threatened with being shot any day.

"His crime, to have unionized the most poverty-stricken rural area of the country for the first time. Unionized and educated, the peasants began to recuperate the land which the big landowners had stolen from them; and began demanding a better standard of living. Their movement ran up against the 'democracy' of the military — violence.

"Hundreds of peasants were massacred, and, in the struggle, three policemen were killed. It is for the death of these puppets that Blanco must now 'pay'.

"Imprisoned in 1963, tried in September 1966, condemned to 25 years in prison by a military tribunal, the judgment is being reconsidered right now. A month after the meeting of the heads of the inter-American armies in Buenos Aires — the armed forces seek his death.

"Hugo Blanco was not an armed combatant — his movement was purely unionist. He should not have been tried by a military court but by a civilian tribunal. He sought economic development and human advancement for the most poverty-stricken workers in the world. He does not deserve death.

"The sentence demanded against Hugo Blanco (and the comrades imprisoned with him who have asked to share his fate) would constitute a series of judicial murders perpetrated against the peasants' and workers' union leaders, and threatens all Peruvians who seek a genuine change in their country."

CHE GUEVARA said while in Algiers, July 23, 1963:

"Hugo Blanco is the head of one of the guerrilla movements in Peru. He struggled stubbornly but the repression was strong. I don't know what his tactics were but his fall does not signify the end of the movement. It is only a man that has fallen, but the movement continues. One time, when we were preparing to make our landing from the *Granma*, and when there was great risk that all of us would be killed, Fidel said: 'What is more important than us is the example we set.' It's the same thing. Hugo Blanco has set an example, a good example, and he struggled as much as he could. But he suffered a defeat, the popular forces suffered a defeat. It's only a passing stage."

INTRODUCTORY COMMENTS BY

Kenneth Golby

I am somewhat of a amateur in the whole field of Latin American politics. My principal interest is literature, and politics and economics are amateur interests, therefore I feel somewhat unqualified to chair this meeting. I would like to tell you something about the background of the Blanco case, but before doing so perhaps I might mention some of the people who have supported his attempt to have himself freed.

There are many prominent intellectuals and organizations in various parts of the world. The two most prominent intellectuals are Jean-Paul Sartre and Simone de Beauvoir; also in France, Alain Resnais, the well-known movie director. Forty-three members of Belgium's House of Representatives have supported Blanco's case, including members of all the political parties. Ten British Labor MP's have spoken up for Blanco. The national secretary of the Italian General Confederation of Labor sent a petition to President Belaunde. The International League for Human Rights, Amnesty International, Isaac Deutscher, the very well-known historian, John Gerassi from the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation, Oscar Niemeyer, the very well-known architect, with thirty other Parisian architects, all these have protested. From the United States, over 400 scholars belonging to the United States Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners recently sent a telegram to the President of Peru calling for amnesty for Blanco; among these was Conor Cruise O'Brien, the Albert Schweitzer Professor of Humanities at New York University.

In Canada, several prominent people have spoken for Blanco: Professor C. B. MacPherson from the political economy department of the University of Toronto; Professor Kenneth McNaught from the history department, University of Toronto; Professor Wilber Grasham of the political economy department of the University of Toronto; Professor J. Estes of the history department; Dean Piepenburg of York University, and many others. I could go on — there are more — but I think that gives you some idea of the support the Blanco case has gotten internationally from various groups, both intellectuals and workers.

I would like to tell you a little bit about the background of the case. Some of you may know quite a bit about it already; if so, I beg your indulgence; if not, perhaps I can inform you a little about it.

Blanco is now thirty-two years old. He was born in Peru and has lived there most of his life. In the '50's he went to Argentina and studied agronomy at La Plata University. In the middle '50's he left his studies and worked briefly in Argentina, then returned to Peru where he became a union leader. He worked very hard in the building-trade unions in Lima for quite a while and he was prominent in organizing demonstrations which greeted Richard Nixon's ill-fated trip to Latin America in '58. Because of this he was persecuted by the police for quite some time, and was forced to leave his job in Lima and he fled to Cuzco, his native city.

Into the Peasant Mass

Cuzco is Peru's third largest city and is the heart of the most poverty-stricken area of Peru. According to figures in a recent article in *Young Socialist Forum*, three per cent of the landowners own 80 per cent of the land; infant mortality is extremely high; life expectancy is very low. Most of the peasants have a life expectancy of around thirty to thirty-five years.

(There is a very good novel which, if you have time, I recommend that you read. It's by Peru's best known contemporary novelist — *Ciro Alegria* — and is called *Broad and Alien is the World*. It tells of the life of the Indians on the Altiplano and how the white people arrived, destroyed Indian villages, killed many of the Indians if they refused to move and took the land that they wanted.)

This leaves us with Blanco in Cuzco in 1961. He finally became so disgusted with the terrible conditions in which the Indians lived that he decided to do something about it by himself. He left Cuzco and went to the Altiplano and made contact with the peasants and the Indians.

This was quite difficult, as these people are very insular and tend to be highly suspicious of strangers in general, but Blanco persevered and managed to become quite friendly with them. He organized them into leagues, he opened dispensaries, he opened schools and organized large unions of peasants, and taught them something about modern agricultural techniques, about the skills that he had learned in university in Argentina. He organized discussion groups, also political groups, and a great number of meetings. He encouraged the peasants to demand the abolition of forced labor which still exists in Peru. He organized them to demand the abolition of wages in kind, and to demand that wages be paid in cash and not just in crops.

All of these things helped to improve the lot of the peasant somewhat, but not significantly; the main fault with the whole system is simply the lack of land. Blanco reasoned therefore that the only thing he could do was to use peaceful means to try to recover some of the land which in reality belonged to these Indians or had belonged to their ancestors. The means of doing this was to get large numbers of peasants and simply to walk onto any large hacienda and take over — not using any violence, not causing any damage to any of the buildings existing there — merely to walk on to the land, establish themselves as tenants, as squatters, and to stay there. And this he continued up to the end of 1963. There were almost 300 of these movements, mostly onto uncultivated land. This, by

the way, was quite legal. There was and still is a law on the books in Peru which says that squatters' rights are tantamount to land ownership after a certain length of time.

Needless to say the landowners weren't particularly happy about this. The small number of landowners have of course a tremendous influence in the government and they used this influence to obtain the government's approval to send out the military to put down these "revolutions," as they called them. The military did this and many peasants were killed in the process. Some simply refused to leave the land and were shot as an example to others to get off the land as soon as possible.

During one of these incidents, in 1963, three policemen were killed. Now there are various reports as to how this happened. According to the prosecution in Blanco's recent trial, Blanco and three of his cohorts attacked the police station and killed three of the policemen. This allegation seems most improbable. There seems very little reason for doing such a thing. Blanco would stand to gain nothing by it. He had no record of violence; on the contrary, quite a record of idealism in his past.

According to an article in *Le Monde*, the authoritative Parisian newspaper, Blanco and several of his comrades were ambushed by the police on the orders of the government and they were fired upon. They fired back in self-defence and three of these policemen were killed. Marcel Niedergang, the correspondent, is a reliable man who has acquired a trustworthy reputation as a reporter on Latin American affairs, and I think he is to be believed rather than the prosecution. After the police were killed, Blanco fled and he was hunted by the police for quite some time, yet succeeded in organizing peasants' movements and in giving instruction in this period.

Finally, in May 1963, he was captured — partly because of betrayal by some of the people in his own movement, I might add. He was taken to jail in a town called Quillabamba, which was immediately hit by a general strike.

Cuzco General Strike

Blanco was very widely known throughout the country by this time by the peasants and to show their solidarity with him and their support for him they staged a general strike. Cuzco, which is the third largest city in the country, was also rocked by a general strike and President Belaunde eventually had to call out the military to put down these strikes.

This was in 1963. Blanco has been held in jail since then. For almost three and a half years he has been held incommunicado. He was given no lawyer; he was not allowed to prepare any kind of defence. The authorities wanted to try him as soon as possible but were afraid that there would be great outcries, that there would be further general strikes if they did so, so they kept him incarcerated and hoped that the case would become quiet enough for them to try him at a later date. Finally the trial was held in August, 1966.

Now, there are several curious aspects to this trial. First of all, it was held under a military tribunal, not under a civil court, and Blanco has

not been a member of the military at any time. There was no reason why he should have been tried by a military tribunal.

Secondly the trial was held in a town called Surena de Tacna, which is a very remote town, in the very far southern area of Peru, near the Chilean border.

Thirdly, the whole trial was conducted in Spanish. This presented no problems for Blanco, but many of his co-defendants speak only Quechua, which is the main Indian language in the country, and this meant that none of them could understand the proceedings.

Land or Death!

The courtroom was crowded with peasants throughout the trial, and several times the judge had to order the court cleared because of the vociferous support that the peasants gave to Blanco. On occasion, he stood up and called *Tierra o Muerte!* "Land or Death!", and stated that the situation was such that these people *must* be given land, asserting that they preferred to stay on the land and risk shooting and death rather than be forced off by the landowners and the government.

Finally the trial concluded. Most of the defendants being Indians and having been in jail now for over three years, were dismissed by the judges as being illiterate and semi-civilized and told they could go home. This wasn't the case with all the defendants, needless to say. Three of them received two-year sentences, three more received five-year sentences. Blanco was given a twenty-five-year jail term and his lieutenant, Pedro Candela, was given twenty-two years in prison.

Blanco, of course, appealed this. He really had done nothing to deserve this sentence or anything ever approaching it. At the present time the appeal is being considered. In the form of a counter-appeal the prosecution has asked for the death penalty, and this is why we are all here to talk about the case, to find out more about it, and hopefully to do something to prevent this death penalty from being carried out.

That is, in brief, the background to the case. I don't want to go on at great length as we have several other speakers. I think first of all Professor Ken Walker would like to talk and tell you something about student politics in Latin America . . .

The principal speaker this evening is Professor Andre Gunder Frank. Professor Frank is currently a visiting professor at Sir George Williams University in Montréal. He is a very well-known socialist scholar who earned his Ph.D. in 1957 at the University of Chicago with a thesis on Soviet agriculture. He has lived and travelled in Latin America extensively. He was recently at the National University of Mexico. Prior to that he taught at the University of Brasilia, in the new capital of Brazil, and at the University of Chile. He has also taught at several major North American universities. He has written and published extensively in the field of economic theory and in the field of history. He has not told me exactly what he is going to talk about. He was still thinking about it during our last conversation . . . but I am sure that whatever it is it will be most interesting — Professor Frank.

FEATURED SPEECH BY

Andre

Gunder

Frank

"Tierra o Muerte", "Land or Death", the slogan of Hugo Blanco, and "Patria o Muerte", "Fatherland or Death", the slogan of Fidel Castro, express the same aspiration and the same reality. For both, I should add the end of the slogan of Fidel Castro, "Venceremos", "We Shall Win".

The reason that "Tierra o Muerte" and "Patria o Muerte" respond to the same reality, and express the same aspiration, is, I think, essentially that their reason for being is created by the same cause, by the growth, development, and continued existence of the capitalist system, that is, the imperialist system of which all of us here in this room are as much a part as are the peasants led by a Hugo Blanco or the people of Cuba led by Fidel Castro. Cuzco is not only the third largest city of Peru; it was the capital of the Inca Empire before the Spaniards got there. The people of Cuzco were incorporated already by the conquest into the development of the then commercial capitalist, later industrial capitalist, today monopoly capitalist system. And their fate today and their liberation tomorrow are, I think, the necessary consequences of the development of this system.

It is often suggested that the peasants with whom Hugo Blanco was associated — who as you were told speak Quechua rather than Spanish

— still live essentially in a world similar to, or the same as, or at least the direct descendant of, the world in which they lived before the Spaniards arrived in 1532.

One of the speakers told you that their land has been taken away, and this is indeed true. Why is it that their land has been taken away? Why is it that these peasants are now under the leadership of Hugo Blanco? It is important to understand that it is not Hugo Blanco or any other leader who really is the motive force. That motive force is the people themselves and of course the conditions that drive them on. Why is it that these people find themselves in the situation they do?

Part of the System

The reason is not that which has a great deal of currency, namely that these people have not yet been incorporated into the capitalist system. No! The contrary is the case. Those parts where poverty is greatest are not those outside the system, but precisely those which have at one time or another been incorporated into the system to the greatest degree — those which have contributed so much to the development of the system. This is most certainly the case with the highlands of Peru and Bolivia, which in those days was part of Peru, which produced the great bulk of the silver that flowed from Latin America into Europe and contributed to the development and the industrialization of Europe. Of course it's really the labor of those who produced the silver that created the surplus which was part, an important and very crucial part, of the initial primitive capital accumulation which permitted the development of the industrial revolution in Europe.

How was this labor gotten out of these Indians? In one word — in the same way that the labor was gotten out and still is being gotten out of Africans in Central Africa and in South Africa today. By taking away their land! It is not so much that the landowners, the 3% who own, as you were told, as much as 85% of the land, need all that land. What they need is the labor. The only way, not the only way, I correct myself, but the principal way, is to take away the means of production from those who would use them in their own benefit, thereby obliging them to work for the boss. This is no less the case, and perhaps more so the case among those peasants of the underdeveloped world than it is in the industrial system, the factory system of the developed world.

According to the Minister of Agriculture of Peru, a member of course, of its bourgeois government, Peru is or was in 1964 the world's fourth most poorly fed country. It had a daily per capita consumption of 1,960 calories. You must compare this 1,960 to something like 3,000 for North America. Cuzco however has 1,620 calories average daily consumption and 40 grams per day of proteins — and not just from animal sources but primarily from vegetable sources. Yet the minimum desirable average per capita consumption for human subsistence is 70 to 80 grams of protein per day. Even that, of course, is an average which includes the relatively well-off and the relatively less well-off. In Cuzco and in Peru the distribution is very unequal, and it is getting increasingly unequal.

Furthermore, per capita food production in Latin America as a whole has declined 7% since before the Second World War. In Peru it had declined 8% in the last 10 years. Far from having simply a revolution of rising expectations, what we are facing is a decline in the absolute level of income of the majority population in Latin America, including Peru and, in fact, in the underdeveloped world as a whole.

Now what is it that causes this increasing underdevelopment in the underdeveloped countries, and particularly in places like the Sierras, the mountains of Peru? Well, a speaker who preceded me suggested that the landowners have influence with the government. And of course they do. And this reminds me that it is often said: well, this is because feudalism really persists in large parts of the countryside of Latin America and most particularly of Peru. And of course the feudal landlords do not find it in their interests that the conditions of the people on their lands should improve.

Let me give you some figures of the 45 families or corporate entities that are represented on the board of directors of Asociacion Nacional de Agricultura, that is to say the National Agricultural Society of Peru, which of course does not represent those who work the land, but those who own it. Of these, 56% are important stockholders in banks and financial corporations, 53% own stock in insurance companies, 75% own urban real estate or construction companies, 56% have investments in commercial firms, 64% are important stockholders in one or more petroleum companies. That is, these landholders are 100% intertwined with the industrial and commercial structure and interests of Peru.

Rulers Intertwined

In fact the principal landowners are the very same people as the principal industrialists and the principal monopolistic merchants. And these in turn are also the principal exporters and importers of agricultural and mining commodities out of Peru, and importers of manufactured commodities into Peru. That is to say, they are dependent on and allied with the bourgeoisie of the metropolis of the imperialist system in the most varied of fashions, some of which I tried to outline to two audiences at the University of Toronto today, I fear considerably without success.

I was foolish enough (off and on) to mention that great, quote "revolutionary" unquote, Walter Gordon, cabinet minister, and the person who invited me to speak there told me later that I was waving a red flag before the bull of my esteemed colleagues at the University of Toronto. Walter Gordon is of course a far cry from Hugo Blanco or Fidel Castro. (Laughter) Not so, apparently for my audience at the University of Toronto. Be that as it may. It's not funny — seriously — perhaps I can make a couple of remarks as to why it isn't funny. But perhaps you don't think it's really funny. One sometimes laughs at very serious things. I do so myself.

In view of the structure and operation of the world system of which Peru and Cuzco and the people in the valley of La Convencion in which Hugo Blanco fought alongside them, or led them to occupy the lands of

which they had been robbed; in view of the structure and development and operation of this system, and in view of the fact that the landowners, industrialists, merchants of Peru, including the so-called national bourgeoisie of which perhaps some people would fancy Walter Gordon a representative in Canada; in view of the fact that their interests are inextricably tied to those of the bourgeoisie of the imperialist metropolis, as becomes evident when any acute contradictions occur when it is necessary for them to take political positions with respect to the political mobilization of any part of the people whom they in common oppress and exploit — for that reason the task of liberating Peru and other parts of the underdeveloped world, and most particularly of course the Quechua and Aymara Indians of Peru, falls to the people themselves. This cannot be done for them by the bourgeoisie, or by any sector thereof.

Liberate Themselves

The question then comes: what is to be done? A number of things have been done, a number of things have been attempted, and I would like to briefly review some of these with you without going very far into the details of revolutionary strategy and tactics which are of great importance of course to those who are revolutionaries active in Latin America. But perhaps, if none of you are going to participate there, they are not of such importance to you here, or to us here. What is important, and I shall try to make some connections, is the connection between revolutionary activity there and revolutionary and including progressive political activity here. To begin with, one of the things that has happened throughout history is that these Indians are by no means lethargic. There have been many armed uprisings of Indians, and, of course, also of non-Indians, against those who exploit them. These uprisings have rarely been a success except insofar as they have formed, or helped to form, revolutionary consciousness, have helped to form revolutionary cadres in the process of struggle.

The most recent uprising that we have all witnessed is that of Santo Domingo led by an ex-army officer, still an army officer, perhaps, Camano? And we saw what happened there. There have been uprisings in other parts of the world — the Paris Commune, Shanghai, Puerto Cabello, Venezuela — most of which have had, unfortunately, similar fates. Another thing that has been tried is, in general, the policy of the Communist parties which, shall we say, are associated with the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and its strategy. Strangely enough, if I am not bending comparisons too far, one of the political groups which most successfully employed these kinds of political strategies of organizing urban workers for what amount to not very much more than bread and butter issues, is APRA, a party formed by and around Haya de la Torre in the early 1930's, a party and a leader who have since become the firmest allies of American imperialism in Peru.

I don't wish to say by that, that the same is the fate of the Communist Party in Peru or others, although there are certainly people who do make this argument. The reason I mention this matter here is that,

although it is true that the Communist parties have attempted primarily to organize in urban areas in Peru, the Communist Party did organize in Cuzco, in the general area of Hugo Blanco. But they did not organize for the kind of purposes, that is to say the kind of immediate political purposes, with the kind of political program of Hugo Blanco, but rather to incorporate — I think this is not being unfair — these peasants into the general political program of the Communist Party of Peru, which I think can only with difficulty be called revolutionary, by any stretch of the imagination.

Guerrilla Struggle

With the victory of Fidel and Che in Cuba, there spread abroad in Latin America a new kind of revolutionary strategy which has come to be called foquismo, that is to say, the guerrilla focal point or group which tries to take root in generally a part of the rural countryside and, to — if I may use the Pentagon's terminology in this hall — through the "inkblot" — spread outward from this focal point. The people on the left had considerable faith in foquismo. The people on the right considerable fear of the success of foquismo. On balance, the record has not been good.

There have been a number of guerrilla movements, some really poorly organized, others very carefully organized over long periods of time in Latin America, most of which have unfortunately been entirely wiped out. Some of them survive in one way or another, but those that have survived have, in large measure, to some extent, changed their political strategy from one of military engagement or armed engagement of the military repressive apparatus to political work protected by gun in hand. If you wish, theory in one hand and gun in the other. I mention that because there were several guerrilla movements prior, or contemporary with, the movement of Hugo Blanco in Peru as well, that were wiped out.

Then something else also was tried and here Hugo Blanco and his strategy are perhaps the most important example. And another important one is that of Francisco Juliao, the organizer of the Peasant Leagues in the northeast of Brazil, another one of the world's most undeveloped and poorest regions, also previously an export region of sugar for the market and tables of the world. Hugo Blanco and Juliao, as you've been told, went into these areas to work with the peasants and to encourage them and to lead them in the occupation of the land which had been robbed from them, in order to free themselves from the necessity of having to work for the landlords. As a previous speaker rightly pointed out, the inspiration for this was trade union experience and trade union strategy in great measure.

One of the serious difficulties both in Brazil and in Peru with this strategy was that when the oppressive military apparatus was really set into motion the peasants who had occupied the land were, if not quite like, at least substantially like sitting ducks in a shooting gallery. Through this strategy there was very little protection that either the peasants could afford for themselves, or that their leaderships could afford for them. For a while it was possible both in Peru and in Brazil to protect these sit-ins.

if I may call them that, through the mobilization of public opinion in the remainder of the country. But when the chips were down, it turned out that the political and economic rulers of the country found it necessary and desirable to really eliminate this challenge to their supremacy.

Contemporaneously with Hugo Blanco, another person whose name has been mentioned — Luis de la Puente — who had been a member of APRA, the movement of Haya de la Torre that I mentioned to you earlier, organized APRA Rebelde, Rebel APRA, which then split off from APRA on the grounds that APRA was no longer true to its original ideals and ideas, which it wasn't. APRA Rebelde then changed its name to Movimiento del Izquierda Revolucionario (Left Revolutionary Movement) or MIR. They prepared for five years with substantial care, and, I think, there is now no reason not to say so, with outside financial and political support. What they did not do was to team up with Hugo Blanco or his peasants. They went and prepared guerrilla foci in the Che Guevara tradition in another part of Peru, laid away a cache of arms and hoped from there to expand out in the so-called ink-blot fashion.

You may recall Mao Tse-tung's famous saying about guerrilla strategy — that the guerrilla has to be a fish in the water of the people with whom and for whom he fights. The anti-guerrilla activities of the United States and the French and others of course have failed in large measure because, although they may remember Mao Tse-tung's dictum, they can't follow it, because of course they are counter-revolutionary. In the case of Luis de la Puente and Lobaton whose widow wrote to us through the contribution of another speaker tonight, the movement did not really attempt to take root in a peasant sea as Hugo Blanco had attempted and succeeded in doing. Moreover, Hugo Blanco himself opposed and still opposes this guerrilla strategy as being inappropriate to the situation.

What to Do

As you all know, the MIR of these leaders also was wiped out. As a result there has been considerable rethinking in Peru and elsewhere in Latin America, and in the world, about what is to be done. I think I won't try to go into this rethinking other than to say that part of it involves the necessity of combining the kind of thing that de la Puente tried to do, of armed guerrilla warfare, with what Hugo Blanco tried to do, of unarmed peasant occupation of land. That is to say, the struggle for immediate objectives that can mobilize the peasants and which nonetheless have far reaching, of course revolutionary, potential and implications.

Well, I want now to turn to the reaction — the reaction which we were told by another speaker is the whip-lash of the revolutionary activity. It is quite evident of course that a reaction has taken place in Latin America since the victory of the Cuban revolution, and it has taken place not solely in Latin America but I dare say throughout at least all of the underdeveloped world and one might say substantially perhaps the entire world. Perhaps the most serious case in the underdeveloped world, not perhaps but surely, is that of Indonesia.

I won't elaborate other than to say that it teaches also certain lessons about the efficacy of some progressive strategies — I won't call them revolutionary strategies because I think it is also fair to say that the Communist Party of Indonesia, although Maoist, was allied with the national bourgeoisie led by Sukharno in such a way as to have to concede to the bourgeoisie precisely what Hugo Blanco was fighting for, mainly the peasants. And when the time came, the PKI had scarcely any peasant support in the countryside; the bourgeoisie of course eventually turned and wiped out 300,000, sometimes an estimated 500,000 or even one million, members of the Communist Party of Indonesia.

False Strategy

The press here of course scarcely whispers about this kind of mass killing, which I am not sure the world has seen ever in so short a period of time and much less for that kind of reason, whereas they of course shout at all kinds of other political activity. The military coups in Africa, the military coups in Latin America, and most particularly, that of Brazil in 1964 are, I dare say, all part of a pattern — more than a pattern — they are part of a world-wide, concerted attempt at reaction whose centre — I needn't tell where it is.

My wife, a Chilean, when I asked her what I should tell you, told me to tell you — try to show them, she said — how persecution of Hugo Blanco really comes out of the center of the imperialist system. *Patria o Muerte, Venceremos*, as Fidel puts it. Quite the case. It also comes, of course, out of the center of the Peruvian bourgeoisie: *Tierra o Muerte, Land or Death*. And these are, as I said, inextricably allied.

We are today living at a time when the war in Vietnam is really coming to a climax. This is a war of 25 years duration for the national liberation of the Vietnamese people. This is a war fought by American imperialism in an attempt to sustain and protect and even expand its imperialist control over the remainder of the world.

This is a war in which, as is very well known, and even boasted by the Pentagon, the American bourgeoisie — and it is not just the Pentagon or the CIA — is developing weapons systems and anti-guerrilla strategy and tactics for use, not simply in Vietnam, but elsewhere in the world. In fact the elimination of the *Movimiento Izquierda Revolucionario (MIR)* of de la Puente and Lobaton in Peru was achieved, at least in part, through the war in Vietnam. No longer did the Peruvian bourgeoisie and the American bourgeoisie use the kind of methods with which they began in Vietnam. They imported the latest technology — military technology — and military strategy, if you can call it that.

The MIR had, so-to-say, dug themselves in a few foci of guerrilla activity; and what the reaction did was to come in with napalm and it napalm-bombed whole areas in order to make sure that within this area they would find the guerrilla foci. That is, of course, only one reason why they napalm-bombed whole areas and wiped out thousands of peasants, many of whom hardly knew what was happening because, as I say, unfortunately, the guerrilla foci in Peru was not really swimming in the

peasant sea. I don't recall the press here having given any play to this development. But it portends, I think, a great deal for the future. It is an announcement of what is to come. What is to come, as I read it, is the Vietnamization of Latin America, and perhaps I should say, probably, of many other parts of the underdeveloped, colonized, neo-colonialized world: Vietnamization in all respects, that is to say, the launching of the most ferocious military counter-attack, where necessary, the splitting up of the country into north and south in order to secure one part if you cannot secure the entire country.

Vietnamization

The United States, as you know, has a series of military pacts with the governments of Latin America. Beyond military pacts and military assistance and military training and military equipment, it is now holding combined exercises and perhaps not accidentally last year and the year before, in Peru; named, interestingly enough, Ayacucho, where the final battle of the liberation of the Spanish colonies from Spain was fought. These are combined military maneuvers of six or seven — it depends when — Latin American military forces for expressly and entirely what the Americans like to call counter-insurgency, that is to say, against the mobilization, including the peaceful mobilization, of peasants, workers, students, whoever it may be, in Latin America.

Since Santo Domingo they are trying in addition to set up a permanent multi-national military force, similar to that which was sent to Santo Domingo. There has been considerable resistance, for a variety of reasons, in Latin America to this. So if you can't get it one way you try to get it another way, and if you can't do that, get it a third way. In the meantime the Americans are not simply waiting. They are forming bi-lateral military pacts — and more than pacts — integration, particularly with their new major ally in Latin America, the Gorillas in Brazil. They are manufacturing arms in Brazil. They are setting up military forts in Brazil. They are producing an ideology to defend the intervention of the Brazilian army beyond the borders of Brazil in the event that it should become necessary.

As you may know the American military establishment is already very deeply involved, and already partly over-committed both equipment-wise and in men, in the war in Vietnam. They cannot afford very many Vietnams, much less a Vietnam on a scale, shall we say, of Brazil. It is important for them, if you permit my use of this well-worn phrase, to have Asians fight Asians as long as they can be made to, to have Latin Americans fight Latin Americans as long as possible.

That great liberal, William Fulbright, made himself famous, or infamous, depending upon which side you are on, when he criticized American intervention in Santo Domingo, not of course at the time the Americans intervened, but later, pleading that he did not really know what was going on, as chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. (Laughter) Wait a minute. That's not all, or even half of it. The other half is that Mr. Fulbright led an American mission to Brazil and in

Brazil he lauded the very same Brazilian intervention in Santo Domingo. That is to say, it is not only perfectly alright, but of course desirable that Latin Americans should intervene in Latin American affairs so that we don't have to do it because we can't afford it very well.

Why can't we afford it very well? Because of course an increased military commitment means trouble at home. It means the draft. It means beginning to draft not only Afro-Americans from the South and others from the South who go into the army either "voluntarily," quote unquote, or through the draft because they can't get a job, but to start drafting people in the middle class and raising all kinds of hornets' nests at home. It means derailing the "Great Society," unquote. It means increasing trouble in the world. It means increasing trouble with our allies.

Increasing Repression

Speaking as though I were an American, it means something that we must avoid as long as we can. I think it is very clear and the Americans know it, and are planning for it but they cannot avoid it forever, and they are preparing not to avoid it forever. But wherever they can, of course, it is better to fight Asians with Asians. What I am trying to say is that we will face increasing repression in Latin America and in other parts of the world. I'm thinking primarily at the moment of India because it is written on the wall in India, and it is of considerable importance since India isn't lacking in significance in the world or to the imperialist system.

The repression will take all possible kinds of forms, not only the military repression of peasant movements, of strikes, or of jailing of intellectuals, but every possible form. And you may be sure that it will continue to increase as it has increased. No matter that a government such as that of Belaunde comes into the government. I was going to say into power, the trouble is of course that it doesn't really come into power, because the power lies elsewhere. It comes into the government with all kinds of quote "democratic" unquote, aspirations and promises, like the government of the Christian Democrat, Frei in Chile, or the government of that great ex-democrat Romulo Betancourt in Venezuela, who I think I needn't tell you a great deal about.

All of these governments inevitably follow essentially the steps of those of Betancourt. And we have seen how this has happened in Peru. It is now happening in Chile: striking miners were shot down when they struck against American copper mines, when they struck, in part, in a political strike against the renewed sell-out of Chilean copper to the American monopolies. The attempt by the Chilean government to take over entirely the press in Chile: the occurrences in Mexico, which has the reputation of having made its revolution, being able to afford bourgeois democracy, being the most nationalist and the most troublesome of the countries of Latin America, excepting of course Cuba — for the United States, where there is a marked and definite tendency of increasing repression under the contemporary government of Diaz Odaz, which takes all kinds of forms including the repression of student strikes in the university, the jailing of intellectuals, etc., etc.

I don't want to go further into the matter other than to say that the solidarity which we are expressing with Hugo Blanco, and rightfully so, will have to be repeated and enlarged and deepened in the future as reaction becomes more and more dangerous, not only in Latin America but in other parts of the world as well.

Struggle Here

It is perhaps not for me, as a non-Canadian and as a recent arrival, in fact only a visitor, to tell you what kind of solidarity is the most efficient. I don't know if you (turning to the previous speaker) and I, are in disagreement here or not. I came here, so did we all, in order to express our solidarity with Hugo Blanco and his cause. Personally, I do not really have as much hope or faith in the efficacy of this kind of action as apparently another speaker here has. But I am sure (turning to him) you will accompany me — and so, I hope, will all of us — in saying that the most important solidarity that we can express and the one that will be most important to those who are engaged in repression in Peru, in Vietnam, and in Washington, is militant struggle here.

There are far and away enough issues in Canada — and I now come from Quebec so that I would like, although I am not perhaps the best defender of the cause of the Quebecois, to remind you of the "100 années d'injustice" as some Quebec automobile license plates say today. What I am trying to say is that the important solidarity is that which most threatens the interests and the rule of the American bourgeoisie, and not only of the American bourgeoisie but of its allies around the world. And that in whatever we can do here, to fight for the interests of the Canadian people against those who exploit them, and/or threaten them with nuclear destruction, in an attempt to maintain this world-wide exploitative structure, the more we can attack this system here, the more we will be helping the peasants led by Hugo Blanco, the more we will be helping Hugo Blanco, if he survives, or those who will necessarily follow him, and who will in his words, gain "Tierra o Muerte" and in the words of Fidel, "Patria o Muerte" and with whom Venceremos, We Will Win! (Sustained applause.)

"This was borne out in Peru, where Hugo Blanco did more in a few years' work by forming unions of 'arrendires' (farmers who hold the usufruct of land which belongs to the latifundist who is paid his rent in labor) in the Valle de la Convencion than all the left-wing parties together in the last 30 years."

From LATIN AMERICA: THE LONG MARCH

By Regis Debray, *New Left Review*, September-October 1965, related to the meeting by Kenneth Walker.

AMONG THOSE WHO HAVE JOINED IN THE WORLD-WIDE DEMAND FOR AMNESTY FOR HUGO BLANCO:

In Canada

F. B. Beckwith, Simon Fraser University
Tim Clarke, 1st Vice President, Vancouver IWA
Dorothy Stevens, Vancouver
Andre Gaudet-Frank, St. George Williams University
C. B. MacPherson, Kenneth McNaught, along with
13 other prominent University of Toronto faculty
members
35 members of the Faculty at York University

In the United States

400 participants in the Second Socialist Scholars Conference in New York, including Cesar Chavez, Isaac Deutscher, Paul Booth, Lew Josen, Herbert Aptheker, Joseph Hansen and Paul Sweezy.
The U.S. Committee for Justice for Latin American Political Prisoners.

In Latin America

28 prominent figures in the Mexican Left
The Chamber of Deputies of Chile
Comision par la liberdad de Hugo Blanco (Argentina)
Jests scores of well known figures and organizations
Jacqueline Lebaton.

In the British Isles

Amnesty International
Sidney Silverman, Bob Edwards, and a dozen other
MP's
Mrs. Harold Laski
Tottenham Amalgamated Engineering Union
Glasgow Trades Council.

In Belgium

41 members of the House of Representatives, including members of every political party.

In France

Arthur Adamov, Jacques Prévert, Simone Signoret, Daniel Guerin, Jean-Paul Sartre, Simone de Beauvoir, many others and representatives of *Temps Modernes*, *Paradis Perdus*, the Surrealist Group, *L'Humanité*, etc.

In Italy

The National Secretariat of the Italian General Confederation of Labor
The United Socialist Party.

In India

21 academics of West Bengal
Various trade unions in Bihar.

JOIN THE AMNESTY APPEAL BY SENDING IN YOUR PROTEST TO:

Consejo Supremo de Justicia, Lima, Peru, and to
Presidente Fernando Belaunde Terry, Lima, Peru.
Send a copy of your protest to Hugo Blanco's
attorney, Dr. Alfredo Butafina, Ave. Nicoll de
Pierola, Oficina 215, Lima, Peru.

Set by union labor and printed by voluntary labor in Canada. Published by
Robert McCarthy. Order extra copies to further the amnesty campaign,
contribute funds to the defence, through Robert McCarthy, Maney College,
4 Devonshire Place, Toronto, CANADA.